

To be returned to W. Coates

THE MONTHLY VISITOR.

HIC ET UBIQUE.

SEPTEMBER, 1833.

INTRODUCTION.

IN coming before the Public for the first time, it is the general custom of Editors to give some account of themselves and their principles, and to favour their Readers with a few pledges and promises of what they intend to be, and what *not* to be. We do not purpose to follow in this beaten track. Of ourselves we have nothing material to communicate. Pledges and promises we regard as useless; for if they be not soon forgotten by both Reader and Writer, they are little else than shackles—better not forged at all, than forged to be broken. And for our principles—we leave the Reader to discover them in our pages. Principles are much more clearly read in action than in profession. Besides, the doubt of who, and what we can be, may attract a few readers, and excite a little interest in our proceedings; which interest, once excited, we shall endeavour to sustain. We come forward at a time of the deepest interest to this colony; when a great political change, vitally affecting every individual of every class, and likely to alter the whole frame-work of our society, is passing upon us; and our object (we have no objection to state that), is to assist our fellow-colonists, according to our ability, to meet the flood of events with prudence and foresight, and to turn its course into the channel best calculated to subserve the *moral and political* welfare of the island. This welfare, we feel assured, will be found in disseminating religious and useful knowledge among the labouring class, and raising the tone of morals in all;—in improving the agriculture of the country, and calling forth its resources.

In this undertaking it is manifest how valuable must be the assistance of all, who wish to promote these important objects; and who may be enabled, in various ways, to contribute anything, however apparently trifling, to their attainment. Those, who possess useful information, ought to impart it for the good of the whole; and no one should be deterred by the supposition that his ideas, the result of reflection and study, or of his own individual experience, are not sufficiently important to be worth communicating. The useful arts, and knowledge of every kind *are in their infancy in Jamaica*. We anticipate that the chief utility of our publication will be found in its affording a medium to others for the conveyance of such suggestions as may tend to cultivate and improve them. We therefore not only freely offer our pages to all; but *solicit* communications upon religion, politics, literature, agricul-

2 *Hints on Emancipation.—How shall the Assembly act?*

ture, commerce; in short upon any, and every subject, connected with the interests of the island; and the promotion of the eternal and temporal happiness of its people.

Without further preface we request the attention of our Readers to the following

Hints on Emancipation.

We are upon the eve of one of the greatest and most astonishing of the revolutions which are to mark the surprising pages of the history of man. Such assuredly must be considered the act of the British Nation, which, in one day, shall deliver 800,000 of her subjects from a state of degraded and degrading bondage into one of freedom; suddenly and totally subverting that fundamental principle, the maintenance of which, in the government of her western colonies, has been constantly deemed essential to their useful occupation and security, and consequently to the preservation of one of the most important sources of her splendour and power. Whether we regard the tremendous change, in reference to the effect it will have upon the interests of the Great Nation, which is so resolutely producing it, and with a magnanimity in her purpose, which it is impossible not to admire; whether we behold it only as affecting that part of the nation which is more directly involved in colonial possessions, or whether we contemplate its probable workings on the condition of the hundreds of thousands of intelligent, but only half civilized beings, who are its immediate subjects—in any, or in all of these views combined, it surely is a subject to engage the most serious and anxious attention of every one who is capable of considering it, and who is not so entirely absorbed in his own petty interests, as to have no place left in his heart for the desires and anxieties of patriotism and humanity. But whilst such a mighty change is being effected, something more is required of an intelligent lover of his country, and of his fellow-creatures, than the mere watching its workings and admiring its revolutions. He will feel that to the extent of his ability and opportunity he is bound to lend his assistance in regulating the change, and in controuling its results, to the avoidance of all threatening evils, and to the furtherance of the real welfare and happiness of all the parties to be affected by it. Under a sense of this responsibility, we submit the following remarks and suggestions to the consideration of the Members of the most important Parliament of Jamaica that has ever been assembled.

1. *How shall the Assembly act?*

There seems to us to be but one answer which a man of sense can make to this enquiry. The proposed change can no longer be avoided—*it cannot be delayed*. It has been yielded to a demand made by the unanimous voice of the British people, and we ourselves are constrained to confess, not only that slavery must cease, but *that it is desirable it should!* What then ought our Legislators to do but to receive, in a spirit of acquiescence, the act of the British Parliament, which will settle this long and ruinous

contest upon terms they never dared hope would be so favourable to the slave proprietors? We would point out and urge upon them the propriety, the absolute necessity of laying aside that spirit of determined opposition to emancipating measures, which have heretofore marked all their proceedings. In doing this too, they are bound by what they owe to their constituents, carefully to abstain now from indulging themselves in those violent invectives against the Government and the friends of emancipation, which, utterly harmless to those against whom they were directed, have only served to help them to the attainment of their objects.—Such speeches and such writings have given the most efficient aid to all the parties employed in pulling down the slave system. At the present crisis they are peculiarly to be deprecated. They cannot retard the change one single moment—but they may, and will have the effect of fixing deep in the memories of those for whose benefit it is intended, THAT IT IS NOT TO THEIR MASTERS THEY ARE INDEBTED FOR IT! The conflict which has ended in bringing about this change has been a long and severe one. Considering its peculiar character and object, it is not surprising, however deeply it is to be regretted, that in its progress a spirit of bitter hostility was engendered upon both sides, and upon both sides has been by far too freely indulged. But the contest is over. We would urge then upon all the necessity of a forgiving and forgetting spirit upon all the provocatives to irritation which were so liberally supplied to their opponents, by every party engaged in it. Honourable Members of Assembly particularly will shew their taste, their wisdom, and their patriotism—they will be acting as becomes those entrusted with the care of the interests and welfare of their fellow-creatures at a great and all-important crisis, if they receive the coming bill of the British Parliament, as one whose principle they adopt; and forgetting all former contentions, resolutely putting down every attempt to revive them, apply themselves at once, and with real desire to perfect its details, to make it a good efficient measure for the government of the country.

2. Apprenticeship.

At the same time that we urge upon our legislators a ready acquiescence in the general measure and the adoption of its principle, there are many very material defects in its arrangements, to the removal of which we would equally urge them to apply their legislative powers. The most important of these defects is, the provision by which the emancipated slaves are to become "apprenticed labourers" for twelve years. We are persuaded that this scheme will never answer; and, if attempted to be acted on, will produce the greatest evils—probably the destructive failure of the whole measure. The plan is grounded on a fallacy, and is built up in absurdity. Because negroes, in a state of slavery, and deriving no direct benefit to themselves from their labour, are found in general to be averse to labour, it is assumed that they will be equally averse to it when free, and la-

bouring for an assured reward in fair and adequate wages!—Never was there an assumption of a principle on which to legislate more unwarranted than this. But, perhaps, it may be said that this is not the ground of the ministerial provision on this head. The emancipated slaves are to be “*apprenticed*,” not because there is any fear of their not working readily and industriously for wages, but because twelve years further servitude, or the grant of 3-4ths of their labour for that period, is deemed a part of the necessary compensation to their masters for their ultimate freedom! But how palpable, in every point of view, is the fallacy here? How deceptive as regards the British nation! That nation pays twenty millions in consideration of the “entire abolition of slavery”—(vide, 1st resolution)—and whenever the continued existence of slavery, notwithstanding this sacrifice upon her part to get rid of it, is set before her,—as it cannot fail to be,—the folly of thus attempting to deceive her will become apparent. *She will never submit to the imposition!*

And as regards the negro! He is to be made free, it is said, because he is entitled to his freedom and ought never to have been deprived of it. This is the very ground, the only ground, on which the measure of taking him away at all from his master is or can be justified. And yet by this plan 3-4ths of his labour for a further period of twelve years are to be forcibly taken from him, and bestowed in a gratuitous present, (for such it will in every point of view appear to him) upon the person whose *slave* he thus virtually continues to be! But the plan is fallacious, as regards the proprietor also. He will derive no “compensation” from the proposed “apprenticeship.” Whilst to his “apprentices” all the advantages they enjoy of house and “grounds,” “clothing and salt provisions,” will continue to appear, not as the price of their labour and the reward of their industry, but as what “country gives them”—their right, and much less than their right; the master is to be saddled with expences for them equal to, indeed exceeding those which, as *slaves*, they now cost him. Let these “apprentices,” too, be ever so worthless and unprofitable to him, keep them and provide for them he must. And truly, unless the negroes shall be changed, by the *hocus pocus* of a legislative enactment, into beings of a very different character to what they are at present, the certain effect of this provision will be to make the very best among them worthless and unprofitable. There are but two stimulants to human labour—the fear of punishment, and the hope of deriving some benefit from its exertion which cannot be obtained without it. By this apprenticeship plan, *both these* are to be removed from the negroes. They are to be relieved from the fear of a flogging if they do not work, and are, at the same time, to have assured to them the possession of all, and more than all, their present advantages and allowances, *whether they labour for them or not!* Now, is there a man of common sense, or the slightest experience, who would ex-

pect negroes, or any other race of human beings, to labour for their masters under such circumstances? Is it not manifest that no work will be got from them; and that, however great and *tempting* may appear, in calculations upon paper, the “compensation” which it is said this gift to him of 3-4ths of the negroes labour will afford the proprietor, *in point of fact*, it is a mere offering to him of a shadow?—that the weight of a single dollar of it will never be felt in his pocket? Imagine the case which under this plan is likely, nay certain to be of daily occurrence. An “apprenticed labourer” does not do his work; or he is insolent and intractable; or he commits some offence injurious to his master’s interest, and destructive of his property;—the master dares not inflict a single lash or any other punishment; he cannot turn him off the property, or deprive him of a single advantage or allowance; his only alternative is to endure the wrong to the encouragement of a repetition of the offence by the culprit, and by others, or to take him down to the magistrate to be punished. But *of course the master’s complaint only will not be sufficient evidence against him!* The offence must be proved by witnesses;—and common equity requires that the accused should be permitted to adduce witnesses in his defence—he may, if he pleases, summon the whole gang! Now, during this process of “fending and proving,” *which will be carried on daily*, what becomes of the master’s “compensation?”

But perhaps we shall again be told here that this is not the plan;—that there is no such absurdity in it as this. Quashie is still to be well “fumed” to *make him work* if he refuses! The magistrates are to be the “*Slave drivers*” in chief, and the inconveniences we have been pointing out will be avoided by a proper delegation of their authority to the proprietors and overseers! Indeed, we have seen in the daily papers of this island, and have heard from many, such anticipations as the following:—“the introduction of the mode of flogging practised in the army;”—“the erection of ‘triangles’ upon each estate;”—the “giving the overseer the power of inflicting solitary confinement,” &c. &c. But here, we would ask, can any thing more completely mark the utter folly (to say nothing of the *dishonesty*) of the scheme?—Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the hopes of freedom which have been excited among the negroes may with safety be thus cruelly mocked and trifled with—(“*we solemnly warn our Legislators that it is a most hazardous experiment*”)—does any man suppose that such a measure as this will be deemed a *satisfactory* settlement of the West India question?—that it will put a stop to the agitation of it? If there be one who does, he must imagine the Anti-Slavery party to be composed of the most gullible set of fools in the British empire. We advertise all concerned that this is not exactly the case, and forewarn them that such a state of things will be regarded and treated not as a *mitigated*, but as an *aggravated* state of slavery ***** But we hope better

things. We trust our Legislators will see the matter in its true light, and relieve the measure of emancipation from the clog of this apprenticeship, which is so certain to prevent its working to any good. Let the slaves be made not only "free," but "*absolutely free*" at once; and enact such vagrant laws as will effectually restrain them from idleness and vagabondage, by compelling them, when found guilty of these, to work, under duress, for the benefit of the public. *But make these vagrant laws applicable to all vagabonds, of whatever colour they may be.* Perhaps, as a caution against the abandonment of sugar and coffee cultivation for that of "provisions"—a danger so much apprehended by some, but we think *imaginary*—some temporary restriction upon the acquiring of property in land, by the persons to be emancipated, may with good policy be imposed.—This, however, requires much consideration; and the restriction should certainly not extend to a positive prohibition. The acquisition may be regulated:—It ought not to be forbidden.*

3. *A Rate of Wages.*

We have heard that some of the Members of Assembly, convinced of the absurdity and impracticability of the apprenticeship plan, have determined upon using their efforts to get rid of it, and, in the expectation of success, are devising a rate of wages to be fixed by law for the different classes of labourers. But we would suggest to these gentlemen that such a scheme is both impolitic and impracticable. It is, we conceive, contrary to all sound policy, and we believe it has invariably been proved to be so by experience, to interfere, by legislative enactment, especially in this minute manner, in bargains between man and man; saying to the one you shall not give more than such a sum for what you want, and to the other, you shall not part with what you have to dispose of, for either more or less than this particular amount. This interference has ever been found, wherever it has been tried, to have a most injurious effect in paralysing the enterprise of commerce and the efforts of industry. It is of little consequence in this respect, whether the article of traffic be labour itself or any of its products. A combination among masters to reduce the wages of labour, has never been successful, and has always been attended with loss. A combination among the labourers to increase their wages has generally been the most certain though not the least baneful of its results. It may appear at present indeed out of the bounds of probability that such an event as this should occur; but we deprecate the introduction of a system that has so inherent a tendency to produce "a strike for wages" among our

* Since writing the above, we have been favoured by a friend with some remarks upon the apprenticeship plan. We gladly avail ourselves of his permission to make them public, and our readers will find them in the communication signed Scots. Our friend has very extensive opportunities of knowing what are the views, and feelings, and expectations of the negroes—and his remarks on these are well worthy the most serious attention of those who are legislating upon a question, the happy settlement of which depends so much upon the manner in which the change will be received by the negroes.

See Page 11.

labourers. We say by far the wisest plan, in reference both to the present time and to *the future*, will be to leave labour to find its own level in the market among other marketable commodities. If, however, we cannot persuade our Legislators to be of our opinion in this matter, on the principle of the wisdom of non-interference, we would point out to them the injustice and the impracticability of fixing a *uniform* rate of wages for the whole island, and for every species of work. What would be high wages in one district where provisions are plenty and cheap, would be very inadequate wages in another where they are scarce and comparatively dear. And certainly the able man who receives 10d. for a day's labour in digging cane holes, would be very ill paid in comparison with the able man who receives the same sum for a day's labour in picking or hoeing coffee. In innumerable other instances the same inequality of remuneration would be the result of fixing a uniform rate of wages. The best plan therefore, if a rate of wages is to be fixed by law, we suggest will be this—let the rate be periodically determined on, say once or twice a-year, by the Magistrates in each district, after consultation with the proprietors, and with a due attention to the price of provisions, &c. But if the law is to regulate the amount to be received by the negro for his labour, of course *it must also regulate what he is to pay for his house, his grounds, and every other privilege enjoyed by him upon the estate; and it must secure to him that these shall always be of a certain regulated value!* We think our Legislators will have enough to do in adjusting these niceties! they had far better leave the equitable arrangement of them to the parties themselves.

* * * * *

There are many other points of this great subject which claim our attention and press for notice. But our narrow limits constrain us to postpone to our following number the observations we intend making on them, and the suggestions we are anxious to offer. Till then we must leave untouched the all-important points of provision for the religious instruction of the people—for *the due observance of the Sabbath*—for the administration of the laws, &c. But there is one point which, as it is calculated very materially to affect the feeling with which the British bill will be received by the Colonial Legislature, we cannot abstain from at once mentioning, endeavouring, by a suggestion or two, to convince the parties interested that there ought not to arise out of it any difficulty whatever to their receiving the bill with favour. We allude to

4. Mortgagees receiving the Compensation.

We have observed that attempts are making to induce the planters generally to be dissatisfied with the measure, because it is expected that the amount of compensation granted by the British nation must be paid to those who hold securities upon the slaves who are to be made free, and for the loss of property in whom the compensation is given. A call has been made upon the Members

of Assembly not to agree to this, but to insist upon the mortgagors and other debtors being allowed to share the money with the mortgagees and creditors!—In other words, to become fraudulent debtors, who, when they have the means of satisfying the demands of their creditors refuse to do so, and appropriate them to their own use! This call comes with a peculiarly ill grace from those who have been so loud against “robbery and spoliation.” The simple fact is, the money, in equity and law, *belongs to the creditor*, FOR SO DOES THE NEGRO ON WHOM HIS DEMAND IS NOW SECURED. It is right and just, then, that the debtor, if he will not be honest voluntarily, should be compelled to be so. But where, in this case, is the hardship upon the debtor? There is none. On the contrary, a most unexpected advantage is afforded him for the settlement of his affairs:—A sum of money he never dreamed of is given to him with which he may pay off a part of his debt, and make terms with his creditor, whilst his estate will be carried on with the same hands, and at a less expence than at present. We beg our mortgaged friends to consider the matter calmly, and we are sure they will soon perceive the great difference between these two cases, and in which *their* advantage is to be found:—In the one, which is proposed for them, their mortgagees receiving the value of the slaves, whilst these remain to work upon the estates; the mortgagees being at the same time by this payment rendered better able, and probably more willing than at present to assist in their cultivation: In the other, to which they are at present subject, the mortgagees “foreclosing,” and taking from them both land and slaves! As regards a judgment debtor the case is still more simple, and clearly to his advantage. Now, if his creditor issues his writ, his slaves must be *sold away from him*, at a ruinous loss. But by the compensation going to his creditor, his debt, to the extent of the value of his slaves, *is paid*, and *they remain with him*, costing him, as hired servants, much less than they do as slaves. We throw out these observations to put the matter in its proper light, and to expose the false views of it which are sought to be given by persons who have their own sinister ends to answer, in exciting dissatisfaction with the measure. We sincerely hope no man will be found in our Legislature so lost to a sense of honesty as to proclaim himself a rogue in making the proposition that has been called for by these persons, but if there be one, “*honourable members*” will never listen to him.

LORD MULGRAVE.

The maxim that “public men are public property,” is very much abused, as often from want of a just estimate of its true application, as from maliciousness; and yet there is an obvious distinction between that which is private and personal to the man, and that which is public and official. The first, in the eye of good taste and right feeling, is sacred; the second only being that to which the

principle of public property applies. It is almost superfluous to point out how greatly public writers in this country have erred in this respect in their treatment of Lord Mulgrave. —Our present business however is with the mode in which his administration has been noticed, and to endeavour to present a just view of it—for one class of writers abuse every thing, and this is gross; while another can give nothing but indiscriminate praise, which is fulsome. Let us advert to some of its true features.

His Lordship's entire freedom from all local partialities was natural in a stranger to the island, but his continued independence of them, notwithstanding all allurements, is an original characteristic, as striking as unusual. Former Governors have yielded quickly, and soon became mere Colonists, full of their views and feelings, countenancing their practices, and bending to their prejudices. Lord Mulgrave has apparently had strength of mind to escape this, while he has not run to the other extreme. It is true that his not doing as his predecessors did has roused many a raging lion, and some he has been obliged to tame; but spite of roaring and railing, no reasonable observer can affirm that he has not the real good of the *whole community* at heart. It is his independent aim at general good that has startled into rage the monopolists of power, and has somewhat soured the next rank of more quiet participators in this cherished possession. The first party, in their blind pride, can see nothing good but their own old way, and not to support it and court them is rebellion even in a Governor; while their more quiet followers join in disapproving and opposing—for one common principle governs them—*We are all in all.*

But there are men in the island who can look above and beyond these people, and being free from the intense bias of prejudice, are well pleased to mark every instance of impartiality and justice in the man who is set over them. They can sift his conduct, and separate decisive and strong handed rule, when required, from tyranny and oppression. They can view with complacency whatever is meritorious in his general conduct. They can note his diligence in business, his promptitude of action, his attention to useful public institutions, and even his personal demeanour, his urbanity, and zeal to please. They can also judge coolly of his policy in other matters where the *soi disant* colonial party are just mere madmen, and can see that his conduct has been wise and judicious towards the Missionaries, whom he has sought to protect from violence; and to whom, seeing no evil in them, he has afforded the countenance they deserved, without going further than a regard to the institutions of the country may be thought to warrant. His object has plainly been to obtain for them the protection of law, and to prevent their being the victims of illegal oppression. With this aim he has punished Magistrates by removal; and what has been the effect? A measure of peace to the perse-

cuted Missionary, and a better mind in many Magistrates ; for though they growl, they "qualify" them.

On the subject of the dissolution of the Assembly, calm observers must have remarked, that never did a set of men more need to be taught that they were subjects and not Lords paramount—King, Nobles, and Commons in one. We pretend not to know Lord Mulgrave's motives, but, however we may doubt the prudence of the Council in unnecessarily mooting the question of right to originate bills, yet, viewing the right to be clear and certain, the position in which the two bodies stood, seemed to impose a necessity for a dissolution ; and if the occasion were happily opportune, there was no wrong in using it to get rid of a House, the chief aim of whose leading members seemed to be to vituperate the Governor and the Government, and to thwart their views and measures for the good of the people.

His Lordship's views of slavery, as he has seen and marked it, have not, so far as we know, been very strongly expressed in public ; but there is sufficient ground to believe that his eyes have not been shut, nor his heart hardened. Cool headed men must say he is right to abhor it, and men who know the distinctions between right and wrong, and whose hearts are the seat of justice and charity, would have looked on him with pity, if not with contempt, had he not felt for the children of bondage, and did he not long for their liberation, and rejoice in the prospect of it.—But has he wronged any man in entertaining these views ? And does he not hold them in a right spirit towards the colonists ? Is he an advocate for spoliation or fraud towards the planter ? We feel safe in calling upon his abusers to adduce any act of his Lordship to shew that he is not desirous that justice be done to the planter ; that he be protected in purse and person and property as fully as it is possible under the circumstances in which we are about to be placed. On the contrary, there are many proofs of his vigilance for our safety, in his notoriously deprecating precipitancy and want of caution ; in the promptitude of his proclamation, the distribution of troops, and obtaining an increase of force.—It would be tedious to go through all the acts of the Governor, which have been the subjects of censure ; but passing them all in review, our deliberate judgment is, that cool-headed unprejudiced men will for the most part approve, if not admire : And if there be any thing that such men would hesitate about, they will hardly find matter for much or decided condemnation, while they will ever remember that rulers of all men deserve the largest latitude of charitable construction, when the difficulties which surround them are duly weighed.

On the whole, we think that Lord Mulgrave is entitled to confidence, that in his future measures he will labour zealously and industriously, in his high and responsible office, for the good of all impartially—even for that of his enemies. Would that it were possible to persuade our senators, that their time, talents, and skill

will be better disposed of, in co-operating with the Governor in the consideration of measures for the island's welfare, than in personal revilings and hatred. We have much fear that our next Sessions will be but a field of civic battles, where old wounds will be re-opened and old contests refought. We call upon the sober men of the House, to banish Huntley plains and dismissed Magistrates from their deliberations. No honour will be gained by the House through these matters. Mischief enough also has been done to our reputation in England from the adoption by the people, the Magistrates, and the Legislature, of the spirit of persecution and hatred to Ministers of religion, and by upholding the violence of mad men. Fellow countrymen, let this conduct cease! Let us retrieve a little of our good name, if it be possible. Prove that you can regret evil and return to good—and let this spirit be shewn in judging rightly and charitably of the Nobleman at the head of the Government—meeting him with a regard that he merits, and seeking to bring into action for your benefit those talents, and the energy, high courage, and decision, which he eminently and unquestionably possesses.

Correspondence, &c.

SCOTUS ON APPRENTICESHIP.

It seems to be now determined that slavery in its present state is to be abolished, and every person, of any intelligence and reflection, seems to consider some change of the state of society absolutely necessary for the safety of the island. The Home Government has shown much greater liberality in the compensation they have proposed than the colonists have for a considerable time expected, and if our Legislature improve the advantages now held out to them, this momentous question will be settled in a way beneficial at once to the master and slaves. On the coming Assembly, in fact, will depend the ruin or future prosperity of the island. I cannot doubt but that the liberal proposals of the British Government will be acceded to; but there is one part of the scheme, as explained by Mr. Stanley, to which I and many others decidedly object, viz. the apprenticeship of the slaves.

My principal argument against this part of the proposed plan is, that the negroes will be quite dissatisfied with it. The time has passed in which we may safely disregard the feelings of the slave population. The failure of the late insurrection may lead us to believe, that it is impossible for them to concert and carry into effect any rebellion sufficient to overturn the Government of the country, but it also teaches us to guard against any excitement which may occasion such a loss of life and property, as we then witnessed. Those who knew most of the late disturbances will be the most anxious to avoid a recurrence of such scenes. As I have much intercourse with the slaves, and have, since the insurrection, freely conversed with them in reference to the proposed changes, to prevent them from adopting erroneous and hurtful opinions, I have an opportunity of knowing that the slaves are generally and decidedly hostile to the plan of apprenticeship.—They expect to be made entirely free at once, and to receive wages for the whole of their labour. It is difficult therefore to conjecture what may be the consequences of their disappointment, if they find that instead of being free, they are still to remain *semi-bondmen*, and labour three-fourths of

their time for their provision-grounds and other allowances which are worth only a few pounds per annum. It might have been reasonable that the slaves should have thus been apprenticed, if no compensation had been allowed, or if the slave trade had so recently ceased that the labour of the slave had not repaid the master for his original cost, but the amount of compensation is such as to remunerate the proprietor for all the just claims he can make upon his people, whether Creoles or Africans. He ought therefore to allow them at once to go free, and enter into an arrangement for paying them reasonable wages for their future labour. It appears to me that the examination of Messrs. Wildman and Taylor, particularly the former, before the House of Commons, is the cause of this apprenticeship. Although advocates for emancipation, they could not assure the committee that the slaves, if free, would pay for their houses, &c. which appears to have suggested this semi slavery plan. A great change, however, has taken place in the sentiments of the slaves since these Gentlemen left the country. They have far more correct notions of freedom than they then had, and they understand much better the relation between master and servant. Had I left the country when Mr. Wildman did, and been called to give my opinion on the case, I would have expressed my doubts about the negroes working for wages and paying for their houses in as strong terms as he did. But if I were now called upon to give such evidence, after the change in the sentiments of the negroes which I have lately witnessed, it would be much modified if not quite reversed. Having frequent intercourse with many slave managers, I am happy to find that they too are not so desponding as to the negroes labouring for wages as they once were, and several Gentlemen I have conversed with have expressed themselves opposed as much as I am to the proposed apprenticeship.

If the negroes are still to be worked in gangs, which I think is implied in their being apprenticed, there will be almost no greater stimulus to industry than there is at present, while they will labour, perhaps more unwillingly than they now do, from the impression that they receive very inadequate recompense for three-fourths of their time; whereas, if they were to be paid according to their exertions, two very important results would be the consequence—1st, intelligent overseers would soon discover those who might deserve their confidence; and 2d, all the well disposed negroes, on finding their industry rewarded, would become the friends of Government, and would use their endeavours to maintain peace and good order, and many of them would cheerfully enrol themselves as a Police, to act on any emergency. It is quite obvious that the emancipation of the present black and brown population from political-disqualifications, has had a powerful effect in strengthening the Government, and promoting the safety of the country, and I have not the slightest doubt that the complete and unqualified emancipation of the slaves would produce the same beneficial results, provided that a vagrant law be enforced, and a Police established to keep the worthless and unprincipled in check. These will be found quite sufficient both to enforce labour and maintain order.

Perhaps, however, the British Government may think the apprenticing of the negroes necessary to secure the production of sugar in sufficient quantity to raise those taxes from which it seems they expect at least part of the twenty millions to be repaid, in which case it may not be left to the option of the Jamaica Assembly, to dispense with it or not. Still, however, they may remonstrate, and at least fix upon a much shorter period than what has been named. I believe the slaves would quietly submit to an apprenticeship of three or four years, but any period longer than that would be intolerably grievous to them. The exaction of their labour will become so unpleasant, and the products of it so unprofitable, that the masters will be compelled to give up their indentures long before they are fulfilled, and engage them as free labourers on the same principles which should be adopted at once.

August 16, 1833.

SCOTUS.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS.

One of the greatest evils which the system of slavery has inflicted upon these Western Isles, has been the use of human labour in the cultivation of the earth, to the exclusion of those expedients which the ingenuity of man has devised in other countries to relieve the human family.

It is known that in every civilized part of the world, and in climates similar to our own, such as the East Indies and the Island of Java, the earth is chiefly cultivated by means of the plough, or like instruments adapted for the purpose. But in Jamaica every attempt of this kind has hitherto been unsuccessful. The cause of this failure has always appeared to the writer to be the system of slavery which has obtained. So long as the planter could compel, with the crack of the whip, the negro to dig his cane-holes, he never could be brought to burthen his mind by any plans to abridge human labour. To "call in a jobbing gang," or to "order the driver," is a simple act, be the ground dry or wet, obdurate or soft; but to adapt a machine to the performance of the work—to train a team of oxen, and to instruct a man to use dexterously such an instrument as the plough, require much attention and much perseverance. These were not practised, nor indeed could they be expected under the evil system which has hitherto prevailed, and under which the interests of the proprietor have been too frequently lost in those of his subordinate agents. But a new era has commenced; and with it new expedients must be adopted. Shortly, human labour will only be procured by the payment of wages, and the farmers of Jamaica will soon discover that their heaviest field labour may be performed by means similar to those employed in other countries, without calling for so much human exertion as heretofore, and it is no doubt the duty of every one to contribute as much as he may, by useful advice to this end.

It is admitted by all, that the digging of the land for planting canes is the hardest labour that the negro has to perform in the carrying on of a sugar estate. I am however of opinion, that spade or hoe husbandry in this case is altogether unnecessary; and I also incline to think that the present system of making cane holes or trenches is equally so. Where the land is sufficiently rich, or has been prepared by manure, if it were properly turned over with the plough, a sufficient depth, and cut to pieces, a mere furrow opened afterwards would be sufficient to give the cane every advantage; and perhaps more advantage than by piling up a high bank, as is done under the present system. It is said that the bank nourishes the cane, and prevents it from lodging. This latter I believe to be, though a common, yet an unfounded imagination; for it is well known that the cane holds only by the *surface* of the earth; and whenever it is moulded to the level, it puts forth its lateral roots to that level, by which alone it is held upright, if it be held upright at all. But let the cane hole be ever so deep, and the bank be raised ever so high, should the cane grow to any height, it is sure to lodge on the ground; especially if, as is often the case, any severe winds should be experienced in the month of October, or when the plants have arrived at any considerable height. Now, of any two portions of land, one planted in the way I would recommend, and the other in the customary manner, I will venture to assert that the cane of the one planted in the manner recommended, will hold as firmly and be at least as good as those of the other, and as little lodged on the ground; whilst another great advantage of the method recommended will be the facility of keeping them clean when young, by means of *horse husbandry*, whereby an immense saving of human labour will be accomplished.

When lands are hilly, they may be ploughed best by an instrument adapted to the purpose, which is used by the farmers of Cornwall in England. This is a plough with two mould boards, which are alternately used for turning the mould down the hill. The share has also two wings, and the coulter is moveable to the right and to the left, so as to give the plough hold of the unturned land as it passes and returns along the sides of the hills. This motion of the coulter is performed by means of a piece of wood

or stick, one end of which is fastened to the top of the coulter, and being fixed upon a pivot or fulcrum a few inches distant, the other end rests between the handles of the plough, so as to give the ploughman facility, whilst turning at the end of the land, to fix the coulter in its proper or new position. With this instrument, four good oxen would perform excellent work, and would prepare as much land for planting in one day, as a gang of thirty negroes do on the present system! And it can be used on all hills where cattle can walk without jostling each other. The same instrument may be used for various other purposes; such as preparing land for great or guinea corn, the various kinds of peas, beans, &c. which our island produces.

It is true that machinery cannot be used where stumps of trees pervade the land; but this is not the case in vast districts where the country has been opened for many years. In regard to the cultivation of guinea corn and various kinds of peas which frequently grow together, the *drill husbandry* may be adopted. What is called "the wheelbarrow drill," well known in England, would exactly suit the purpose of running along the small trenches formed by the plough. Or a drill might be attached to the plough which might admit of alteration so as to deposit the different kinds of seed required to be sown. The lands in St. Andrew's, near Kingston, would suit admirably for the cultivation of peas; especially if the water from the Hope River could be applied for the purpose of irrigation: and the market of Kingston could be supplied with black eyed peas, instead of purchasing them from the Americans. And if manure were conveyed from Kingston to these lands, a double benefit might arise to the neighbourhood; for Kingston would thereby be relieved of the noxious effluvia arising from the present deposit of dung in the outskirts and lanes of the city: and the lands in the vicinity would be converted from a barren heath to a fruitful field.

The introduction of wheat also would be a great benefit. The European wheat indeed would not grow in the lowlands of this island: but the Egyptian wheat would, and it would afford a profitable return for the labour bestowed upon it. I would strongly recommend our Horticultural Society, to endeavour to procure this wheat. Besides growing in Egypt, I believe it is common to many parts of British India. There is also a valuable barley grown in the East Indies, as I find by a Report of the Agriculture of that country, in a publication of the Board of Agriculture of London, which might be very valuable here. For, in the production of grain, this island is very deficient, and this is chiefly in consequence of hand-husbandry only being applied to its cultivation—but apply *machinery* and you multiply its production thirty fold.

But it is not only in the cultivation of sugar estates that much of the human labour that is at present expended in this island may be spared. To turn our attention to the management of our grazing farms or pens, I would recommend the introduction of a proper breed of dogs, for the management and herding of cattle. The drovers or shepherd's dog of England is an admirable auxiliary on all grazing farms. And I have been credibly informed that the shepherd's dog of France is still superior—that it is a very common sight in some parts of the country to behold cattle grazing in a pasture surrounded by fields of corn without fences, and the only preventative of trespass is the vigilance of the dog; the herdsman himself often leaving the cattle to the entire charge of this sagacious animal. Now any one may easily discover the great saving of human labour that might be effected by this means. And what is not the least important consideration, is, that horned stock, tended by this animal, become very tame and tractable; the very reverse of which is the case with those bred in the ruins and commons of Jamaica. I consider the rearing of horned stock of immense importance in this colony. Under the present system this has not been done commensurate with the wants of the settlers. At the same time, however, it is to be considered that the horrible slaughter of oxen upon sugar properties, caused by the *pushing* system, has made the demand for stock much greater than it would have been had those who killed them by over driving been obliged to supply the loss. The farmers of Great Britain are pushing men, but they

take care not to push one interest to the injury of another. *They take care not to kill their horses or oxen either by "putting in" or "taking off" their crops.* In conclusion, I would suggest to our Legislators the great advantages that might be derived to the country were the ingenuity and talents of its farmers further instigated by the offer of rewards to those who shall succeed in the cultivation, by plough, or other instrumental husbandry, of land which has hitherto been cultivated by manual labour only; and *generally* for all improvements in the agriculture of the country.

AGRICOLA.

A TIME TO DANCE.

A worthy Clergyman having been required to preach from Ecclesiastes iii. 4, "*There is a time to dance,*" and to show wherein consisted the evil of that innocent amusement, made the following reply, which we think worth extracting from the publication where it first appeared.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your request that I would preach from Eccles. iii. 4. I cannot comply with at present, as there are some duties more important than dancing, which a part of my people seem disposed to neglect. And before I can preach on it at any time, I would request the solution of some difficulties presented in the text. The first respects *the time* for dancing; for though the text declares that there is a time, yet when it is it does not determine. Now this point I wish to ascertain exactly before I preach on the subject, for it would be as criminal I conclude to dance at the wrong time as to neglect to dance at the right time. I have been able to satisfy myself in some particulars when it is *not* a time to dance. We shall agree I presume that on the Sabbath day, or at a funeral, or during the prevalence of a pestilence, or an earthquake, or thunder storm, it would be no time to dance. If we were condemned to die and were waiting in prison the day of execution, this would be no time for dancing, and if our feet stood on a slippery place beside a precipice we should not dare to dance.

But suppose the day to be ascertained, is the whole or only a part of it to be devoted to this amusement? If a part of the day only, then what part is the "*time to dance.*" From the notoriously pernicious effects of "*night meetings*" in all ages, both on morals and health, no one will pretend that night is the time to dance, and perhaps it may be immaterial which portion of the day-light is devoted to that *innocent amusement*.

Allowing the *time* to be ascertained, there is another difficulty;—is it a *command*, or only a *permission*? Or is it merely a declaration of the fact, that there is a time when this as well as all the other events in the text do come to pass? If the text be a *command*, is it of universal obligation; and must "old men and maidens, young men and children" dance obedience? If a *permission*, does it imply a permission to refrain from dancing if any are so disposed? Or if the text be merely a *declaration* that there is a time when people do dance, as there is a time when they die, then I might as well take the preceding verses of the chapter and show in what consists the evil of those *innocent amusements* of hating and making war, and killing men, for which it seems there is a time as well as for dancing.

There is still another difficulty in the text. What *kind* of dancing is intended? It is certainly a matter of no small consequence, if we dance in obedience to Scripture, that we dance in a Scriptural manner, as well as at a Scriptural time? To avoid mistakes in a point of such importance, I have consulted every passage of the Bible which speaks of dancing, from which it appears. 1. That dancing was anciently an act of worship. 2. That it was practised exclusively on joyful occasions, such as national festivals or great victories. 3. That it was performed by maidens only. 4. That it was performed usually in the day time, in the open air, in high-ways, fields, or groves. 5. That men who perverted dancing from a sacred use to purposes of amusement were deemed infamous. 6. That no instances of dances are found upon record in the Bible in which the two sexes united in the exercise, either as an act of worship or amusement. 7. That there is no instance on record of social dancing for amusement, except that of the "*vain fellows*" devoid of shame; of the wicked families

described by Job—which produced greater impiety and ended in destruction; and of Herodias, which terminated in the rash vow of Herod, and the murder of John the Baptist.

From all this I gather that the Bible affords no countenance to the innocent amusement of dancing as generally practised now.

I am affectionately yours, &c.

THE CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY.

We are happy to announce that by a resolution of the standing Committee of The Christian Knowledge Society, passed on the 10th of June, **WARTON'S DEATH BED SCENES are no longer to disgrace their catalogue.** We rejoice on account of the venerable institution, because it seems to afford some prospect of amendment; but we far more rejoice that the poison contained in that soul-destroying work, will not again be allowed to circulate among the poor and ignorant, under the apparent sanction of the Bishops and Dignitaries and Clergy of the Church of England. We trust that the other obnoxious works will in like manner be successively exposed and banished.—*London Paper, July 1st, 1833.*